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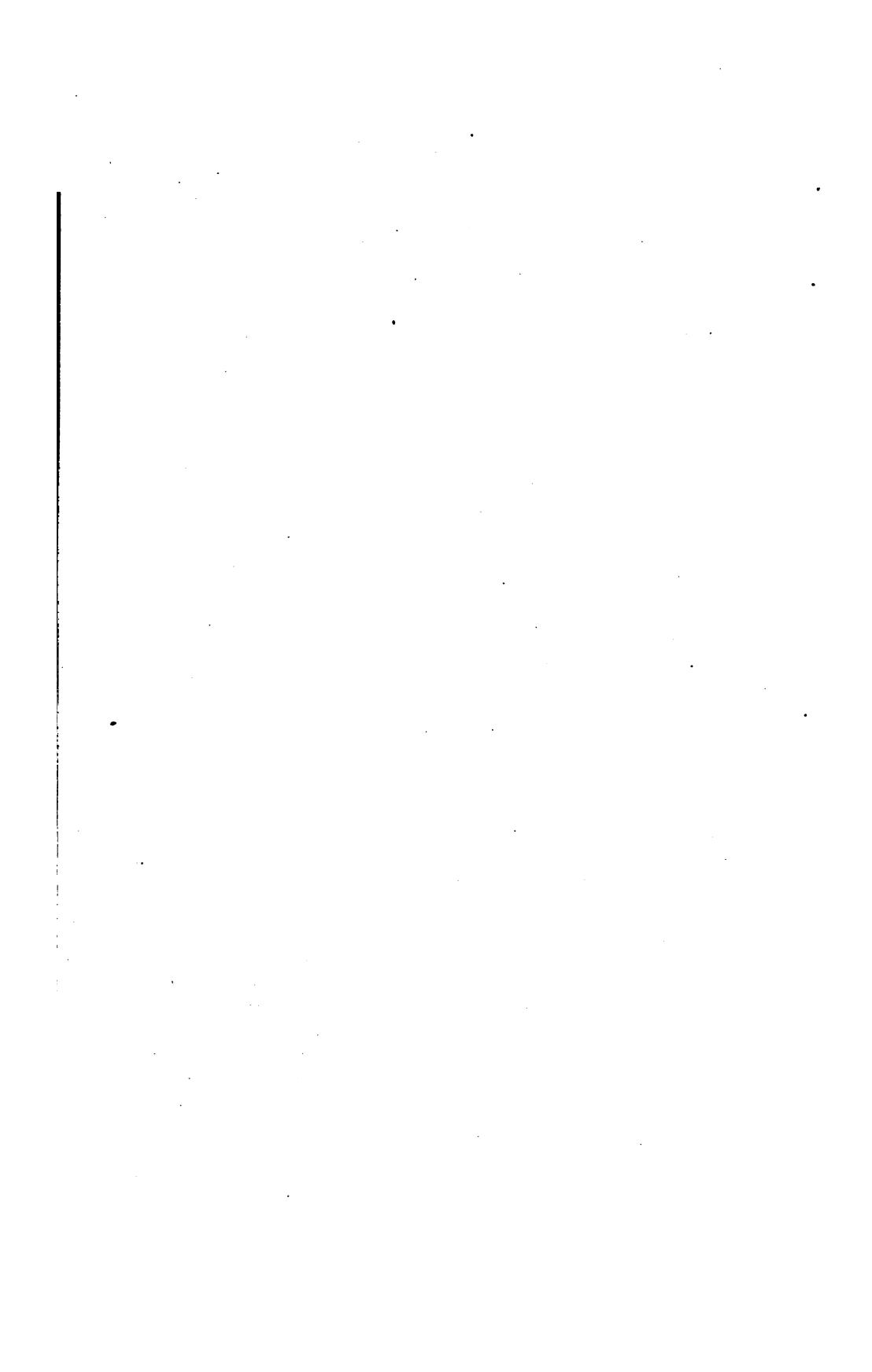












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" *Respects of*
E. W. Aguiar

Locality and Climate



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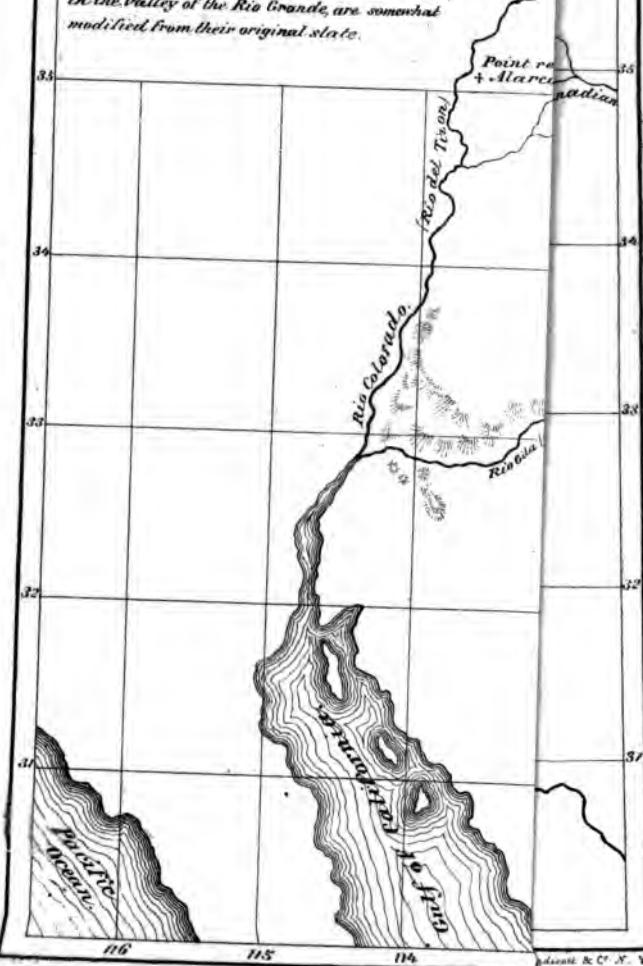


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MAP
of the
VALLEYS of the RIO GRANDE
Compiled from the Survey
Col. Emory and Lieut Abercrombie
And from the early Spanish
by E. G. Squier.

The aboriginal inhabitants of the region indicated by dotted lines, were stationary and agricultural in their habits. They lived in large Towns, the houses of which were several stories in height. They were mild, honest and industrious. The Zuni and Moqui have probably undergone little or no change from their primitive condition. The people of the same stock, (for which the generic name of MOQUI is suggested,) living in the valley of the Rio Grande, are somewhat modified from their original state.



NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA.

THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS, AND THE ABORIGINAL, SEMI-CIVILIZED NATIONS OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA; WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND CONQUESTS IN THOSE REGIONS, PARTICULARLY THOSE NOW FALLING WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

By E. G. SQUIER, A.M.

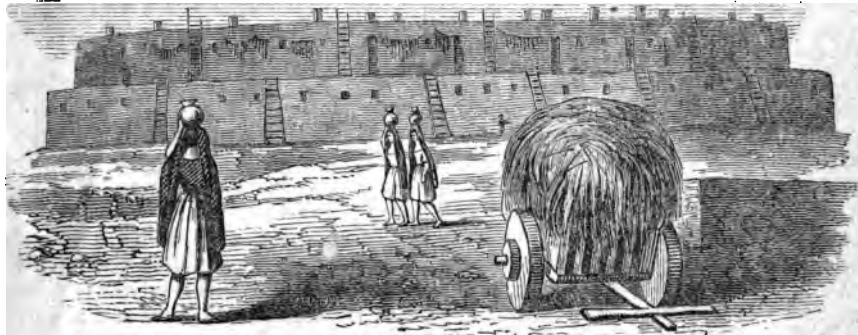
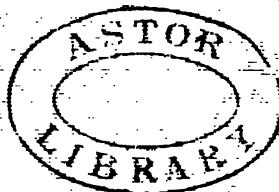


FIG. I.—BUILDING IN THE PUEBLO OF SAN DOMINGO.

By the recently concluded treaty with Mexico, we have had brought within the jurisdiction of the United States a vast extent of territory, comprising nearly the whole of New Mexico, and by far the larger portion of Upper California. The greater part of this vast accession is an arid, uninhabitable desert, sparsely peopled by a few squalid Indians, who find a scanty subsistence in grasshoppers, the larvae of the ants, and in the withered roots of their desolate abodes. The only habitable portions of the territory are the valley of the Sacramento, on the Pacific, which has

a mild climate and fertile soil; a part of the narrow valley of the Colorado of California; and the valley of the Gila. The latter is in many places quite broad and very fertile, but requires irrigation to be in any degree productive. A portion of the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte, emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, and, *at present*, constituting the south-western boundary of the United States, is also capable of supporting a considerable population; but is not comparable, in any respect, to the valleys of the various tributaries of the Mississippi, and will hardly be regarded as

much importance except as constituting a half-way station on the lower route to California.

Within the habitable regions here indicated, and which have hitherto been very imperfectly known, are a number of Indian tribes, in many respects as remarkable as any on the continent. Two of these, the *Comanches* or *Cumanches*, and the *Apaches*, are wild and predatory, and having now the use of horses, may be regarded as the Arabs of the elevated deserts of the New World. They resemble the *Arapahoes* and roving *Pawnees*, who principally occupy the plains to the north-eastward of them, in habits; are exceedingly warlike, and constitute the chief and most dangerous obstacle to the passage southward of the traders and settlers, whom the novelty of first occupying the new territory may seduce from the comforts and delights of that garden of the world,—the great Mississippi Basin.* Besides these, and occupying the country between the upper waters of the Del Norte and the Sierra Anahuac, and perhaps extending towards the Colorado, are the *Navajos*, (pronounced *Navahoes*,) who are half-agricultural, and not less martial than the Apaches, who speak the same language with them, and clearly belong to the same family. Little is known concerning them, and, until recently, still less was known of the semi-civilized tribes to the southward, on the Gila, and between that river and the Colorado of California, except what was derived from the early Spanish explorers.

During the past fifty years vague and uncertain accounts have occasionally reached us of stationary nations, living in well-organized communities, peaceful in their habits, with a simple religion, culti-

vating the soil, constructing canals for irrigation,—in short, approximating to the condition of the tribes of Anahuac, at the period of the invasion of Cortez, in the first half of the sixteenth century. The recent war against Mexico, however unsatisfactory its results in other respects, has indirectly contributed in enlightening us very materially in regard to some of these singular aboriginal families. In prosecuting its military designs against the upper provinces of Mexico, various expeditions were sent out by the American government, and amongst them, one under General Kearney, designed to operate in Upper California. This expedition started from Fort Leavenworth in July, 1846; followed the usual trail to Santa Fé; thence crossed the Sierra Mimbres in a south-western direction, striking the river Gila in lat. 33° N., long. 109° W., following generally the course of that river until near its mouth, then crossing the intervening territory in a northwesterly direction to the valley of the Colorado, and the settlements on the Pacific. Accompanying the advance guard of this expedition, was a small party of field and topographical engineers, under Lieut. Col. W. H. Emory. The Report of this gentleman, presented to Congress early during the late session, has just made its appearance,* badly printed on poor paper, and affording, in its mechanical execution, a fit commentary on the false economy of Congress.

This Report, although necessarily brief and hurried, nevertheless possesses high interest, inasmuch as it relates to a region hitherto almost unknown, and now, by a singular turn of events, a part of the territory of this confederacy. It gives a succinct view of the geography, topography, productions, capabilities, and inhabitants of the country through which the expedition passed, and may, in all these respects, be regarded as a valuable addition to our stock of knowledge.

Lieut. J. W. Abert was a member of Lieut. Emory's corps; but, in consequence of ill health, was left with Lieut. W.

* These Indians, to the west of the Rio Grande, are animated by the most intense hatred of the Mexicans. They have completely depopulated some portions of the frontiers of the Mexican States. The upper half of the valley of the Rio Grande is constantly subject to their incursions. One of the chiefs of a party of these Indians met, by appointment, by General Kearney, exclaimed, as the latter was about proceeding from the rendezvous, "You have taken New Mexico, and will soon take California; go then and take Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora; we will help you. You fight for land; we care nothing for land; we fight for the laws of Montezuma and for food. The Mexicans are rascals; we hate them all."—*Emory's Rep.*, p. 60.

* "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri, to San Diego, California, including part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila rivers. By Lieut. Col. W. H. Emory. Made in 1846-7, with the Advance Guard of the Army of the West."

Peck, in New Mexico, under instructions to complete the survey of that territory. His Report, comprising 132 pages, illustrated by maps and drawings, has just been printed.* It contains much valuable and interesting matter,—particularly interesting at this juncture, when public attention is forcibly directed to our accessions at the South-west.

It is not our present purpose to go into a detailed notice of these reports. We shall avail ourselves of them, only so far as they relate to the Indian nations and aboriginal monuments falling under the attention of their authors, with the design of adding the new facts, thus obtained, to what was before known concerning them, so as to present as complete a view as possible of their character and connections. We shall give especial prominence to the notices of ancient monuments, buildings, and other remains, for the reasons that the existence of many ruined structures in the territories above indicated, and particularly near the river Gila, has long been known, and has given rise, in connection with the traditions of the ancient Mexicans, to many singular speculations and conjectures relative to the origin and migrations of the Aztecs and their traditional predecessors, on the plains and among the sierras of Mexico,—speculations involving the entire question of the origin of aboriginal American civilization.

Before noticing the various ancient remains found by Lieuts. Emory and Abert, it may not be out of place to observe that there still exist, in New Mexico, many remnants of the aboriginal inhabitants, who, notwithstanding their long intercourse with the Spaniards, yet retain most of their primitive habits and customs. They are honest, moral, sober and industrious. Their religion possesses most of its original features,—the stem upon which the Catholic propagandists, with ready adaptation, have engrafted some of their own tenets. The authority which the Spaniards have, from the first, maintained over them, has been little more than nominal, and the inhabitants of Eu-

ropean descent have perhaps assimilated as much towards the natives as the latter have towards the intruders. The fragments distinguished as the Pecos and Taos Indians, the first to the eastward and the last to the northward of Santa Fé, are very well known from the accounts of travellers, or from their connection with recent events in that territory, and we shall omit any detailed notice of them in this connection. But beyond the Rio Grande, on the sources of the tributaries of the streams emptying into it from the west, and which interlock with the upper waters of the Gila and the eastern branches of the Colorado of California, there are a number of Indian towns, or *Pueblos*, the inhabitants of which, although belonging to the same family with the Pecos, and other Indians of New Mexico, and corresponding with them in most particulars, are yet, from their more limited intercourse with the Spaniards, less modified from their primitive condition. This observation applies, but with less force, to the Indians to the south-west of Santa Fé, on the borders of the high desert, distinguished on its western boundary for its saline lakes, and known as the *Llano Estacado*, or "Staked Plain,"—so called from the circumstance that a trail once existed across it, the course of which was indicated by stakes placed at intervals.

The subjoined description of the town of Acoma, situated on the Rio Jose, a tributary of the Puerco, to the west of the Rio Grande, in the region first indicated, will give a very good idea of the character of the Indian dwellings, as also of the care and skill with which the aborigines selected the sites of their towns—forcibly reminding us of the accounts (which they at the same time confirm) of the conquerors of New Mexico, who found "towns placed upon high rocks," difficult of access, and having white buildings which glistened like silver in the sun.

"From the valley in which we journey," says Lieut. Abert, "rise high blocks of sand-stone, the tops of which are horizontal, and the sides of which reach perpendicularly to the height of three hundred or four hundred feet above the plain. This sandstone is very hard, and breaks in long prisms, the angles of which seem to resist the rounding action of the weather. This rock exhibits tints of yellow and light red.

* "Report and Map of the Examination of New Mexico; made by Lieut. J. W. Abert, of the Topographical Corps, in answer to a resolution of the U. S. Senate." Washington, 1848.

"High on a lofty rock of sandstone such as I have described, sits the town of Acoma. On the northern side of the rock the rude boreal blasts have heaped up the sand so as to form a practicable ascent for some distance; the rest of the way is through solid rock. At one place a singular opening or narrow way is formed between a huge square tower of rock and the perpendicular face of the cliff. Then the road winds round like a spiral stairway, and the Indians have fixed in the rock logs of wood, radiating from a vertical axis, like steps; these afford foot-hold to man and beast in clambering up.

"We were constantly meeting and passing Indians who had their 'burros' laden with peaches. At last we reached the top of the rock, which was nearly level and contains about sixty acres. Here we saw a large church and several continuous blocks of buildings, containing sixty or seventy houses in each block. They were three stories high, and the walls on the sides that faced outwards were unbroken, and had no windows until near the top. In front the stories retreated back as they ascended, so as to leave a platform along the whole front of each, which platforms are guarded by parapet walls about three feet high. In order to gain admittance, you ascend to the first platform by the means of ladders; the next story is gained in like manner; but to reach the 'azotea,' or roof, the partition walls on the platform that separates the quarters of different families, have been formed into steps. This makes quite narrow stair-cases, as the walls are here not more than a foot in thickness. The entrances to the dwellings are from the roof. Here we found great quantities of peaches, which had been cut in halves and spread to dry in the sun.

"We entered some of the houses, and the inmates received us with great gladness. They brought out circular baskets, nearly flat, and filled with a kind of corn-bread, resembling hornet's nests, of the same color, and thin as a wafer. This they crumbled between their fingers and put in a second basket, from which we ate. Each family occupies the rooms that are situated vertically over each other. The lowest story is used as a storeroom, in which they put their corn, pumpkins, melons, and other eatables. The fronts of the houses are covered with festoons of bright red peppers and strings of pumpkins and musk-melons, which have been cut in slices and twisted in bunches to be dried for winter's use.

"The people," continues Lieut. Abert, "appeared to be well provided with all the necessities and luxuries which New Mexico produces. They are quiet, and seem to be generous and happy. As we walked through the town, we saw them unloading their 'burros.' Quantities of fine cling-stone peaches were spread out upon the ground, as the owners

were dividing the loads so as to carry them up the ladders. And whenever we approached they cried out, 'Coma! coma!' 'Eat! eat!' at the same time pointing to the fruit. They generally wear the Navajo blankets, marked with broad stripes, alternately black and white. Their pantaloons are very wide and bag-like, confined at the knee by long woollen stockings, and sometimes by buckskin leggings and moccasins. The women stuff their leggings with wool, which makes their ankles look like those of the elephant.

"These people cannot have associated much with the Mexicans, (Spaniards,) as they scarcely know a word of the language. This may be owing to an old Spanish law, referred to by Mr. Murray, which confined the Indians to their villages, prohibiting them from visiting the settlements of the whites, and also excluding the latter from the Indian towns. They seem to possess a smattering of the Roman Catholic religion; their dwellings are often crowned with the symbol of the cross; and, as I have already mentioned, one of the first objects which meets the eye in entering the town, is a large chapel with its towers and bells."

This town is clearly the *Acuco* mentioned by the first Spanish adventurers into this country.* The Indian towns which are situated where the natural defences are insufficient for complete protection, are fortified with considerable skill. Lieut. Peck, who visited it, mentions that the "Pueblo de Taos" is situated upon the banks of a little mountain stream, and consists of an immense adobe structure of successive stages, rising to the height of seven stories, constituting an almost impregnable tower. It is surrounded by a few smaller buildings, and the whole is "enclosed by an adobe wall, strengthened in some places by rough palisades, the different parts so arranged for mutual defence, as to elicit much admiration of the skill of the untaught engineers." It will perhaps be remembered that it was here that the Indians, roused into hostility, made their final stand against the American forces in January, 1847; and, as observed by Lieut. Abert, "the history of the bloody siege, lengthened resistance, and final reduction of the place, furnishes

* The ruins of San Felipe, on the Rio Grande, correspond very nearly in position with Acoma. They are situated on the verge of a precipice several hundred feet in height, the base of which is washed by the river.

sufficient evidence of its strength. For weeks in succession had they, in former times, resisted the attacks of overwhelming numbers of their wild prairie enemies, and this stronghold had defied all the assaults of the Spaniards. Built of adobes, a material almost impenetrable by shot, having no external entrance except through the roof, which must be reached by movable ladders, each story smaller than the one below, irregular in plan, and the whole judiciously pierced with loopholes for defence, the combination presents a system of fortification peculiarly *sui generis*.*

According to Mr. Gregg there are here two edifices, one on each side of the creek, which formerly communicated by a bridge. The *estufa* was a spacious hall in the centre of the largest. This is probably the *Braba* of the Spanish conquerors, as will be seen in a future page.

Lieut. Peck also mentions the pueblo of San Juan, which is surrounded by a dry trench, in which a row of palisades six or eight inches in thickness are planted, the interstices being filled with the clayey earth of which the "adobes" used in building are made. "These Indians have very fine fields of corn, and I noticed particularly their orchards of peach and plum trees. They cultivate almost all the fruit that is grown in the country, and an Indian settlement may usually be distinguished by a clump of trees. The Spaniards seldom take the trouble to plant them."

The cut at the head of this article represents a building in the Pueblo of San Domingo. It is copied from Lieut. Abert's Report, and will convey a very correct idea of the style, etc., of the Indian edifices. "The buildings of this Pueblo," says Lieut. Abert, "are built in blocks two stories high; the upper story is narrower than the one below, so that there is a platform or landing along the whole length of the buildings. To enter

you ascend to the platform by means of ladders, which can be easily removed, and as there is a parapet wall extending along the front of each platform, these houses can be converted into formidable forts."

Each of the Indian Pueblos or villages, is under the control of a *cazique* chosen from among themselves. When any public business is to be transacted, he collects the principal chiefs in an *estufa* or cell, usually under ground, when the subjects of debate are discussed and settled. Mr. Gregg was told that whenever they return from their belligerent expeditions, they always visit their council cell first. Here they dance and carouse frequently for two days, before seeing their families. The council has charge of the interior police, and keeps a strict eye over the young persons of both sexes of the village. The females, it should be observed, are universally noted for their chastity and modest deportment.*

The first aboriginal remains of any kind, noticed by Lieut. Emory, were upon the Pecos river, a tributary of the Rio Grande del Norte, among the mountains, in lat. $35^{\circ} 40' N.$, and $105^{\circ} 45' W.$, not far to the eastward of Santa Fé. Here are the ruins of an ancient Indian building in close proximity to a dilapidated Catholic church. It was built of adobes, or sun-dried bricks. About a century since the town was sacked by hostile Indians, but amidst the terrors of the assault and subsequent havoc, the Pecos devotees contrived to keep up the eternal fire in the *estufa*, (vault,) where it continued to burn until within seven years, when the tribe becoming almost extinct, the survivors abandoned the place and joined some of the original race, beyond the mountains, about sixty miles to the southward, where it is said the sacred fire is still kept burning. The ruins are figured by Col. Emory, but no clear idea of their character can be formed from the sketch.

Lieut. Abert states that many singular legends still exist relating to the former inhabitants. Among other things, it is said, they kept an immense serpent in their temple, to which they offered human sacrifices. We learn from another source that the buildings of the ancient town, which was

* The houses in the Mexican cities were flat-roofed, terraced and crowned with battlements. Cortez complains of the annoyance to which his soldiers were subjected from the Mexicans, "who fought from the tops of their houses, and threw missiles from behind the battlements." This would seem to imply that the Aztecs constructed their buildings somewhat upon the plan of those described in the text.

* Transactions of American Ethnological Society, vol. ii. p. 81.

founded before the conquest, are built of mud intermixed with small stones, and that some of them are still so perfect as to show three full stories. In the large ruined edifices above mentioned, there are four rooms under ground, circular in form, fifteen feet deep, and twenty-five feet across. In these burned the holy fire.

In the valley of the Puerco, on the road to Cibolleta, Lieut. Abert found remains of buildings formed of flat stones and plastered with clay. At one point, upon a high bluff, he also discovered some enclosures of stone. One was circular, ten feet in diameter, with walls three feet high, in which an aperture or door had been left. Another was elliptical, and its walls had been quite high. Besides these, there were many rectangular structures, the purposes of which were not apparent. They were more than a mile from water, and the approach upon one side was steep and difficult, while upon the other it was impossible—the rocks presenting a vertical face, one hundred and eighty feet in height. On the east bank of the stream, not far from the bluff just mentioned, Lieut. Abert noticed a collection of stone structures in ruins. They had been arranged so as to form a square enclosure, the sides of which were each six hundred feet long.

At the town of Tegique, which is about sixty miles south of Sante Fé, on the branch of a small stream, losing itself in the saline lakes of the *Llano Estacado*, Lieut. Abert found some ruins, a portion of which are at present covered by the modern town. They consisted in part of mounds, from six to eight feet in height, arranged in lines running due north and south, and east and west. At one place the mounds indicated a building of considerable size, which the Mexicans called "the church." While Lieut. Abert was there, he observed some people digging earth, of which to make adobes. In the course of their labors, they uncovered a wall consisting of sun-dried bricks. The mounds, which proved to be the ruins of buildings, were found upon examination to be divided by partition walls, into chambers not more than five feet square. Lieut. Abert concludes that they formed the lower stories or vaults of edifices, which, judging from the mass of fallen materials, were originally several stories high. Scattered around were frag-

ments of pottery, similar to that now used in the various pueblos, also arrow-heads of milky quartz. In their excavations, the people said they frequently found "metates," which are probably the stones called "metlatl" by the Aztecs, upon which they ground their corn.

Lieut. Abert also visited the ruins of Abo and Quarra, which he found to be precisely such as would result from the abandonment and dilapidation of the present Indian towns. Some of these, as will soon be seen, it is certain, existed previously to the conquest; for, in the accounts of the early writers, we find them referred to by the names which they still bear. Perhaps the most imposing of any of these remains, are those called "Gran Quivera," visited and described by Mr. Gregg. There is no doubt that Vasquez Coronado penetrated to this region in 1541. The Spaniards, after the second conquest, established missions and built churches at this and other important places,—the ruins of which are easily recognized.

Passing now beyond New Mexico, into the territory drained by the Rio Gila, on the great Pacific slope, we find numerous evidences of a remote population, and also remnants of nations still less changed from their original condition than those already noticed on the Rio Grande del Norte.

The first remains on the Gila, worthy of remark, were found in lat. $32^{\circ} 50' N.$, long. $109^{\circ} 30' W.$ Lieut. Emory's brief notice is as follows: "To-day we passed one of the long-sought ruins. I examined it, and the only evidences of handcraft remaining were immense quantities of broken pottery, extending for two miles along the river. There were a great many stones, rounded by the attrition of the water, scattered about; but, if they had not occasionally been arranged in lines forming rectangles with each other, the supposition would be that they had been deposited there by natural causes." Two days thereafter, Lieut. Emory passed "the ruins of two more villages, similar to those just mentioned. The foundations of the largest houses first seen were sixty by twenty feet, those found to-day, forty by thirty. About none were found any vestiges of the mechanical arts, except pottery. The stones forming the foundations are round and unhewn; and some

cedar logs were observed near them much decayed, but bearing no marks of edge tools." Except these rude remains, which can hardly be supposed to have belonged to the ancient population, the explorer had as yet found nothing to justify the current accounts of vast ancient ruins upon the Gila. Two days later, however, at the mouth of the San Carlos river, he discovered the foundation of a rectangular house composed of rough stones, and upon a mound near by the foundations of a circular structure, a few feet in diameter. Amid these were many fragments of pottery, and upon digging within them to the depth of a few feet, were found solid masses like the dirt floors of the Spaniards. The

succeeding day, at the base of Mount Graham, he observed the ruins of a large settlement. Among the remains was one circular enclosure two hundred and seventy feet in circumference, and another twelve hundred feet in circumference, which Lieut. Emory supposes to have been designed for defence. "In one segment of it," he observes, "was a triangular shaped indenture, which we supposed to have been a well. Large mezquite trees were growing on it, attesting its antiquity. Most of the houses are rectangular, varying from twenty to one hundred feet front. Many were of the form of the present Spanish houses, thus:—

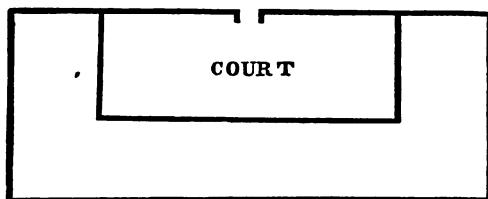


FIG. 2.

"Red cedar posts were found in many places, which would seem to detract from the antiquity of the other remains, but for the peculiarity of this climate, where vegetable matter appears never to decay. No relics were discovered which enable us to connect the builders of these ancient structures with any other races. No marks of edge tools could be found, nor any utensils, except the fragments of pottery everywhere strewed on the plain, and the rude corn-grinder still used by the Indians." So great was the quantity of this pottery, and the extent of ground covered by it, that Lieut. Emory conjectured it must have been used for pipes to convey water. There were also, scattered about, many fragments of agate and obsidian. The valley was evidently once the abode of a busy people. Tradition both among the Spaniards and Indians fails to reach them.

Two days subsequently, Lieut. Emory observed ruins, which so far as he could judge, (the ground being covered with mezquite bushes,) must formerly have been occupied by from five to ten thousand inhabitants. "The outline of the

buildings, and the pottery presented no essential differences from those already described. About eleven miles from this point, on a knoll, were found the traces of a solitary house, somewhat resembling a field work, *en cremallière*. The enclosure was complete, and the faces varied from twenty to thirty feet. The accompanying cut will convey an accurate idea of the plan."

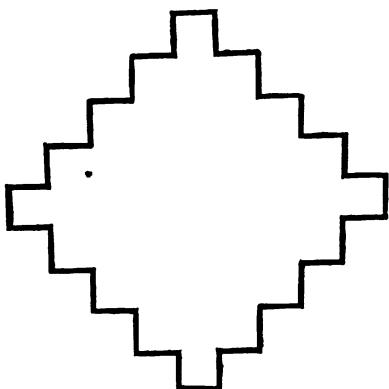


FIG. 3.

A few remains similar to those above noticed were observed at various points, as Lieut. Emory's party progressed. At one place, on the summit of a promontory of pitch stone, six or eight symmetrical and well-turned holes, about ten inches deep, and eight inches wide at the top, were found; near one of which, in a secluded spot, was lying a well-turned pestle. It is supposed these were the mortars or corn-mills of the ancient inhabitants.

In lat. 33° N., long. 112° W., Lieut. Emory, for the first time, found buildings standing, at all corresponding to the structures he had been led to suppose existed on the Gila, and known as the "*Casas Grandes*," or "*Casas Montezuma*." The latter name is the one common among the Indians, with whom Montezuma is the out-

ward point of their chronology, from which every event is dated. His memory is regarded with the profoundest veneration. "Near our encampment," says Lieut. Emory, "a range of hills draws in from the south-west, giving the river a bend to the north. At the base of this range is a long meadow extending for many miles, in which the *Pimos* graze their cattle, and over which are scattered zequias, pottery, and other evidences of a once densely populated country. About the time of the noon halt a large building was observed to the left. It was the remains of a three-story mud-house, sixty feet square, and pierced for doors and windows. The walls were four feet thick, and formed of layers of mud, each two feet thick. It is represented in the following sketch, Fig. 4.

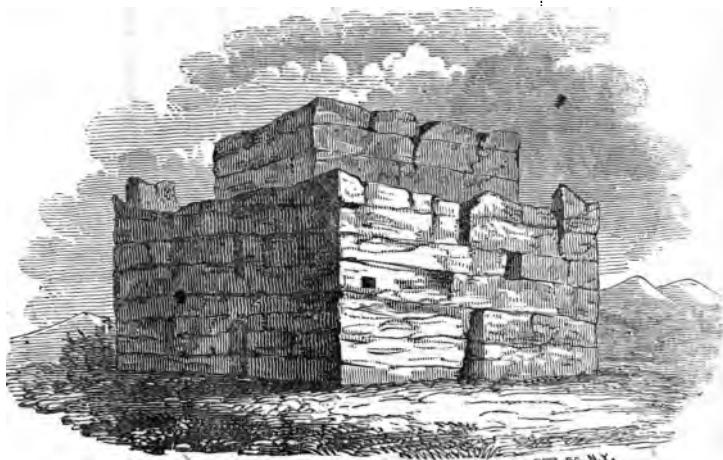


FIG. 4.—"CASA GRANDE" ON THE RIVER GILA.

"A long and careful search was made for objects of household use, or implements of art, but nothing was found except the corn-grinder, always met with among the ruins and on the plains. Marine shells, cut into various ornaments, were also found here, which showed that the builders either came from the sea-coast or trafficked there. No traces of hewn timber were discovered; on the contrary the sleepers of the ground floor were round and unhewn. They were burned out of their seats in the wall to the depth of six inches. The whole interior of the build-

ing had been burned out, and was much defaced. What was left bore marks of having been glazed, and on the walls of the north room of the second story were a number of rude hieroglyphics."

While encamped near this point, Lieut. Emory's party were visited by the *Pimos* Indians, whose town was a few miles distant. They were frank and unsuspecting, leaving their packs and valuables in the camp with perfect unconcern. Theft seems to be unknown among them. One of them was asked concerning the ruins just described. He replied that all that

was known was a tradition to the following effect: "In times long past, a woman of superior beauty resided among the mountains near this place. All the men admired and paid court to her. She received the tributes of their devotion, grain, skins, etc., but gave no favors in return. Her virtue, and her determination to remain secluded, were equally firm. There came a drought which threatened the world with famine. In their distress the people applied to her, and she gave them corn from her stock, and the supply seemed to be endless. Her goodness was unbounded. One day as she was lying asleep, a drop of rain fell upon her and produced conception. A son was the issue, who was the founder of the race which built these structures." When asked if he believed the legend which he had related, he replied, "No, but most of the Pimos do. We know nothing of their origin."

Capt. Johnston, who was killed at the battle of San Pasqual in California, accompanied Lieut. Emory in his expedition, and kept notes of the journey. From these, the following passages relating to ruins similar to those just noticed, have found the light. It will be observed that pyramidal structures, of the same type of those of Mexico, are mentioned.

"Still passing plains which had once been occupied, we saw to our left the 'Casa de Montezuma.' I rode to it, and found the remains of the walls of four buildings, and the piles of earth showing where many others had been. One of the buildings was still quite complete, as a ruin; the others had all crumbled, but a few pieces of broken wall remaining. The large casa was fifty feet by forty, and had been four stories high; but the floors and roof had long since been burnt out. The charred ends of the cedar joists were still in the wall. I examined them and found they had not been cut with a steel instrument. The joists were round sticks about two feet in diameter. There were four entrances—north, south, east and west,—the doors about four feet by two; the rooms as below, and had the same arrangement in each story. There was no sign of fire-place in the building. The lower story was filled with rubbish, and above it was the open sky. The walls were four feet thick at the bottom, and had a curved inclination inwards to the top. The house was built of a sort of white earth, and pebbles, probably containing lime, which abounded on the ground adjacent. The walls had been smoothed out-

side, and plastered inside; and the surface still remained firm, although it was evident it had been exposed to great heat from the fire. Some of the rooms did not open to all the rest, but had a hole a foot in diameter to look through; in other places were smaller holes. About two hundred yards from this building was a mound, in a circle one hundred yards around the mound. The centre was a hollow, twenty-five yards in diameter, with two vamps or slopes going down to its bottom. It was probably a well, now partly filled up. A similar one was seen near Mount Dallas.

"A few yards further, in the same direction, northward, was a terrace, one hundred yards by seventy, about five feet high. Upon this was a pyramid, about eight feet high, twenty-five yards square at the top. From this, sitting on my horse, I could overlook the vast plain lying north-east and west, on the left bank of the Gila. The ground in view was about fifteen miles,—all of which, it would seem, had been irrigated by the waters of the Gila. I picked up a broken crystal of quartz in one of these piles. Leaving the casa I turned towards the Pimos, and travelling at random over the plain, (now covered with mezquite,) the piles of earth and pottery showed for miles in every direction. I also found the remains of a *zequia* (a canal for irrigation) which followed the range of houses for miles. It had been very large."

At a point still nearer the Pimos village, Lieut. Emory noticed another "Casa Montezuma." "It was one pile of broken pottery and foundation stones of black basalt, making a mound about ten feet high. The outline of the ground plan was distinct. The pottery did not differ from what was before observed; and among the ruins the same sea-shells, one worked into an ornament, and a large bead of bluish marble, exquisitely turned, and an inch and a quarter long, were also found."

The Pimos Indians are, in many respects, a remarkable people. They are stationary and agricultural in their habits, peaceable, honest and social,—in fact, presenting in all respects the strongest points of contrast to their neighbors to the north-east, the predatory Apaches. "At the settlement of the Pimos," says Lieut. Emory, "we were at once impressed with the beauty and order of the arrangements for irrigating and draining the land. Corn, wheat and cotton, are the crops of this peaceful and intelligent race of people. At the time of our visit, all the crops had

been gathered in, and the stubble showed that they had been luxuriant. The cotton had been picked and stacked for drying in the sheds. The fields are subdivided by ridges of earth into rectangles of about two hundred feet by one hundred, for the convenience of irrigation. The fences are of sticks wattled with willow and mezquite, and in this particular give an example of economy in agriculture worthy to be followed by the Mexicans, who never use fences at all.

The dress of the Pimos consists of a cotton serape, of native manufacture, and a breech cloth. Their hair is worn long, and clubbed up behind. They have but few cattle, and these are used in tillage. They possess a few horses and mules, which are prized very highly. They were found very ready to barter, which they did with entire good faith. Capt. Johnston relates that when his party first came to the village they asked for bread, offering to pay for the same. The bread was furnished by the Pimos, but they would receive no return, saying, "Bread is to eat, not to sell; take what you want."

"Their houses," says Lieut. Emory, "were dome-shaped structures of wicker-work, about six feet high, and from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, thatched with straw or corn-stalks. In front is usually a large arbor, on top of which is piled the cotton in the pod, for drying. In the houses were stowed water-melons, pumpkins, beans, corn and wheat, the three articles last named usually in large baskets; sometimes these baskets were covered with earth and placed on the tops of the domes. A few chickens and dogs were seen, but no other domestic animals except horses, mules and oxen. Their implements of husbandry were the axe, (of steel, and obtained through the Mexicans,) wooden hoes, shovels, and harrows. The soil is so easily pulverized as to make the plough unnecessary."

Among their manufactures is a substance which they call *pinole*. "It is the heart of Indian corn, baked, ground up, and mixed with sugar. When dissolved in water it is very nutritious, and affords a delicious beverage. Their molasses, put up in large jars, hermetically sealed, is expressed from the fruit of the pitahaya."

In manufacturing cotton they display much skill, although their looms are of the simplest kind. "A woman was seated on the ground under one of the cotton sheds.

Her left leg was turned under, and the sole of her foot upwards. Between her large toe and the next was a spindle, about eighteen inches long, with a single fly of four or six inches. Ever and anon she gave it a twist, in a dexterous manner, and at its end was drawn a coarse cotton thread. This was their spinning machine. Led on by this primitive display, I asked for their loom, pointing first to the thread and then to the blanket girded about the woman's loins. A fellow stretched in the dust sunning himself, rose up leisurely, and untied a bundle which I had supposed to be a bow and arrows. This little package, with four stakes in the ground, was the loom. He stretched his cloth, and commenced the process of weaving."

They had salt among them, which they obtain from the plains. "Wherever there are 'bottoms' which have no drainage, the salt effloresces, and is skimmed from the surface of the earth. It was brought to us both in the crystallized form, and in the form when first collected, mixed with earth."

The plain upon which the Pimos village stands, extends fifteen or twenty miles in every direction, and is very rich and fertile. The bed of the Gila, opposite the village, is said to be dry, the whole water being drawn off by the *zequias* of the Pimos for irrigating their lands; but their ditches are larger than necessary for the purpose, and the water which is not used returns to the river, with little apparent diminution in its volume.

It is scarcely to be doubted, that the Pimos are the Indians described by Father Garcias and Pedro Font, as living on the south bank of the Gila, in the vicinity of the Casas Grandes, of which an account will hereafter be given. They lived in two villages, called Uturicut and Sutauisau, and are described by these explorers to have been peaceable and industrious cultivators of the soil. "When Father Font tried to persuade them of the advantages which would result from the establishment of Christian missions, where an Indian alcalde would govern with strict justice, a chief answered that this was not necessary for them. "For," said he, "we do not steal, we rarely quarrel; why should we want an alcalde?"

Thirty miles beyond the Pimos is a cognate tribe called the Coco Maricopas. All that has been said of the Pimos is applicable to them. Like them, "they live in cordial amity, and their habits, agriculture, religion, and manufactures, are the same. In stature they are taller, their noses are more aquiline, and they have a much readier manner of speaking and acting, and are superior in appearance, and perhaps in intelligence." Their animal spirits seem to be excessive. In illustration of their extreme simplicity, Lieut. Emory relates that after the trading had ceased, "they gathered around the camp-fires and made the air ring with their jokes and merry peals of laughter. A pair of spectacles was a great source of merriment. Some of them formed the idea that with their aid, the wearer could see through their cotton blankets. They would shrink and hide behind each other at his approach. It was at length placed upon the nose of an old woman, who explained its use to the others."

Although both the Pimos and Maricopas have an aversion to war, it arises from no incapacity in arms. They have at all times shown themselves able to meet and defeat the Apaches, whose hands are raised against every people. At the time of Lt. Emory's visit, a party had just returned from chastising these mountain robbers, for some aggression, bringing with them a number of captives, which they sold to the Mexicans as slaves. "They have a high regard for morality, and punish transgressors more by public opinion than by fines or corporeal penalties. Polygamy is unknown among them, and the crime of adultery, punished with such fearful penalties among the Indians generally, is here almost unknown, and is followed by the contempt of the relatives and associates of the guilty parties." They are said to be without any other religion than a belief in one great and over-ruling Spirit. Living remote from the civilized world, they are seldom visited by the whites, and intoxicating liquor and the vices which it entails, are unknown among them.

The two tribes are estimated to number from five to ten thousand. The Pimos have occupied their present position for an unknown period. The Coco Maricopas, on the other hand, have recently migrated

thither. In 1826, they were encountered on the Gila, at its junction with the Colorado, and subsequently at a point about half way between their present village and their former position. From the accounts of their earliest, contrasted with their present condition, it would seem that although originally an agricultural people, they have learned much from their proximity to the Pimos, whom they acknowledge as their superiors politically, and with whom they live on terms of intimate and cordial friendship. Their language is distinct from that spoken by the Pimos, and Mr. Gallatin has compared a short vocabulary, obtained by Lieut. Emroy, with four Mexican languages in his possession, and the languages of thirty-two families of Indians living within the United States and further north, and found it to bear resemblance to none of them. He remarks, however, that "apache" is the word for *man*, and judging from analogy, they should belong to the great Apache family, for among the Algonquins the name signifying man was sometimes employed to designate tribes, as in the cases of the Linni Linape and Illinois."*

Lieut. Emory obtained from these Indians information of the existence, about a day's journey and a half to the northward, on the Salinas river, of a large building similar to the "Casa Montezuma," perfect, excepting the floors and roof. It was reported to be large, and the walls to be

* The Coco Maricopas were known to the Spanish missionaries long before the time they were visited by Mr. Carson. "In the map attached to Vanegas' History of California, published at Madrid in 1768, their name is inserted in a conspicuous way; and they are represented as occupying the country south of the Rio Gila for 150 miles upwards from its mouth. They are mentioned in the same work as having entertained friendly relations with Father Kino, the celebrated Jesuit, in the year 1700. They were visited in 1744-48, by Father Sedelmayer, who found them living in peace with the Pimos. To the westward of them, this authority mentions the Yumas, who were enemies of the Coco Maricopas, though speaking a dialect of the same language. These three tribes, viz. the Pimos, Coco Maricopas and the Yumas, with two others not named, were called the peaceable nations, which should be sheltered from the northern tribes. For this purpose several expeditions were proposed in order to conquer the Apaches, none of which, however, were undertaken."—GARRICK LATIN, Trans. American Ethnological Soc. vol. ii.

beautifully glazed. The footsteps of the men employed in building it, are yet to be seen in the adobes of which it is constructed. Whenever the rain comes, the Indians resort to these ruins to look for trinkets of shell, and a peculiar green stone, which Lieut. Emory regards to be nothing more than verde antique. He also states as an impression following from a hurried survey, that the ruins which he saw on the Gila might well be attributed to the Indians seen in New Mexico and to the Pimos. The fact that the latter now construct no such edifices may be accounted for (he suggests) by supposing that they have lost the art of constructing adobe or mud-houses,—a supposition hardly possible, while they had the suggestions furnished by these buildings constantly before them. Wherever the mountains do not approach too closely to the river, and shut out the valley, the ancient remains are seen in great abundance, enough, in the opinion of Lieut. Emory, to indicate a former population of at least one hundred thousand. In one place, most of the valley, for a distance of twenty miles, was covered with ruins of buildings, and broken pottery.

Corn-grinders and pottery corresponding with those found among the ruins are still in use among the Pimos. The corn-grinder is simply a large concave stone, into which another stone is made to fit, so as to crush the grain by the pressure of the hand.

The Indians met with between the Del Norte and the Gila, at the Pimos settlement, belong to the great Apache family, having no fixed habits, and roaming about from place to place, wherever a prospect of plunder is afforded. The Mexican provinces of New Mexico, Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango, may almost be said to be tributary to them.

Above the Maracopas, and near the head waters of the Salinas or Salt river, is a band of Indians called the *Soones*, by Lieut. Emory, who, in manners, habits and pursuits, are said to resemble the Pimos, "except that they live in houses scooped from the solid rock."* They are

doubtless the same with the *Munchies* or *Mawkeys*, as they have sometimes been called, and which names may be regarded as corruptions of *Moqui*, the name applied by Humboldt to the stationary inhabitants between the Gila and Rio Colorado. He says, "The Indians between the rivers Gila and Colorado form a contrast with the wandering and distrustful Indians of the savannahs to the east of New Mexico. Father Garcias visited the country of the Moqui, and was astonished to find there an Indian town, with two great squares, houses of several stories, and streets well laid out and parallel to each other. The construction of the edifices of the Moquis is the same with that of the *Casas Grandes* on the banks of the Gila."* These Indians have been represented as nearly white, and extremely graceful in figure; but most of the late accounts which we have had of them, are based upon vague reports, and can hardly be relied on in their details. Humboldt observes that they "exhibit traces of the cultivation of the aboriginal Mexicans," and expresses the belief that, "at the period of the migration of the Tolteca, the Acolhuas and the Aztecs, several tribes separated from the great mass of the people to establish themselves in these northern regions."† The same authority states, on the testimony of the mis-

fifty miles to the westward of the Rio Grande, containing 1000 or 1200 inhabitants, who profess the Catholic religion, cultivate the soil, prosecute various domestic manufactures, and possess considerable stock.

Mr. Gregg also mentions the seven pueblos of the Moqui—a nation which, from what he could gather, resided a short distance beyond the Zunni, with whom they generally correspond, except that they are pagans, and display more skill in their arts.

It will be seen, in the progress of this paper, that the people called *Soones* in Col. Emory's Report, and *Zunni* by Mr. Gregg, are the "*Sunes*" or "*Zuny*" described by Espejo, who visited their country in 1581-83. It will also be seen, that they are the "*people of Cibola*" conquered by Coronado, and that their country is the true "*province of Cibola*," the position of which has been so long a matter of doubt among investigators. Although Col. Emory has thought the story about "houses cut in the solid rock" worth mentioning, it is presumed there will be a safe incredulity as to the fact, in the minds of all intelligent readers.

* Pol. Essay, Lond. ed., vol. ii, p. 315.

† Id., p. 316.

* It cannot be doubted that the *Soones*, of whom Col. Emory received so very vague accounts, are identical with the *Zunni*, noticed by Mr. Gregg in his "Commerce of the Prairies." He mentions the *pueblo* of *Zunni*, one hundred and

sionaries of the *Collegio de Queretaro*, that their language is entirely different from that of the Aztecs proper. Missionaries, it seems, were once established among them, who were massacred in the great revolt of the Indians in 1680, and they have ever since remained unsubdued.

Beyond these, to the northward, and north-east, is the nation of the *Navajos*, a branch of the Apaches, who are partially agricultural, and who excel in some departments of domestic manufacture. "Their country is shut in by high mountains, inaccessible from without, except by limited passes through narrow defiles, well situated for defence on the approach of an invading foe. Availing themselves of these natural advantages, they have continued to maintain their ground against all odds, nor have they suffered the Spaniards to set foot within their territory as conquerors."* Dr. Lyman regards them as the "most civilized of all the *wild Indians* of North America," and states that they cultivate maize and all kinds of vegetables extensively, rear large droves of magnificent horses, equal to any in the United States, possess large flocks of mountain sheep, and from the wool, which resembles mohair, "manufacture blankets of a texture so fine and heavy, as to be perfectly impervious to water"†. They are much more martial in their habits than the tribes already noticed, and are almost constantly at war with the Mexicans. They have had some severe skirmishes with American trappers, which resulted much to their disadvantage, and of whom they stand in considerable awe. Dr. Lyman states that "in the autumn of 1841, an American trader, with thirty-five men, went from Bent's fort to the Navajo country, built a breast-work with his bales of goods, and informed the astonished Indians that he had come into their country to trade or fight, whichever they preferred. The Indians chose to trade, and soon commenced a brisk business. Lieut. Abert states that, from what he could learn from Col. Doniphan, who marched into the Navajo country, they build in a style corresponding with that of the Indians of New

Mexico, as illustrated in the accounts of the pueblos of New Mexico.

Thus far the new facts which have been placed before the world by the officers of the American army, and by American travellers. Father Pedro Font, in 1775, visited some ruins south of the Rio Gila, which probably entirely escaped the observation of Lieut. Emory, who, for the most part, travelled upon the northern bank of the river. Their precise locality we are unable to determine, but they were doubtless higher up the stream than those mentioned by Lieut. E. Father Font, (whose MS. relation is copied in the seventh volume of Lord Kingsborough's magnificent work, and has recently been published by M. Ternaux Compans,) states that the ruins which he visited cover more than a league, and that the ground was covered with broken vases and painted pottery. The principal building, a plan of which (fig. 5) is herewith presented, is

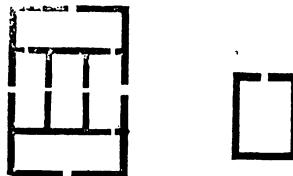


FIG. 5.

described as "a parallelogram, facing precisely the four cardinal points; extending seventy feet long from north to south, and fifty wide from east to west. It consists of four rooms, three internal of equal size, twenty-six feet by ten, and two external, thirty-eight feet by twelve, and they are all eleven feet high. The edifice has three stories,—four, counting one under ground. There was no trace of stairs, which were probably wooden, and burned when the Apaches destroyed the building. The whole structure is composed of earth, the interior walls being four feet thick, and well constructed, and the external six feet thick, and shelving outside. The timber work consists partly of mezquite, principally of pine, although the nearest pine forest is distant seventy-five miles. A little distance to the eastward there is another building, twenty-six feet by eighteen

* Bartlett's Progress of Ethnology, p. 17.

† Farnham's Life and Travels in California, p. 272.

* See Kingsborough, vol. vi., p. 532, and Trans. American Ethnological Society, vol. ii., p. 1.

inside. There are also remnants of other structures near. Around the whole there are indications of an external wall, rectangular in outline, extending four hundred and twenty feet from north to south, and two hundred and sixty from east to west. From some remains of mud walls (torchis) and some scattered bricks, it appeared that there had been a canal to bring water from the river to the town.”*

Clavigero was aware of the existence of ancient structures on the Rio Gila, and attributes them to the Aztecs, who, he supposed, migrated from the regions far to the north-west, beyond the Gila and Rio Colorado. He does not, however, assume to know anything of the character of these remains, further than that they are quite imposing.

He describes certain buildings, nevertheless, under the name of “Casa grandi,” (to which he imputes the same origin,) situated two hundred and fifty miles to the north-west of the city of Chihuahua, and not very far to the westward of the Rio Grande. It will be seen that the account corresponds with that given us by Lieut. Abert, of the aboriginal structures on the Del Norte. These have entrances only from above, by means of ladders, while those met with on the Gila have doorways on a level with the ground.

“This edifice,” says Clavigero, (vol. i., p. 114,) “is constructed on the plan of those of New Mexico, that is, consisting of three floors, with a terrace above them, and without any entrance to the lower floor. The doorway is in the second story, so that a scaling ladder is necessary; and the inhabitants of New Mexico build in this manner, in order to be less exposed to the attacks of their enemies. No doubt the Aztecs had the same motives for raising their edifice on this plan, as every mark of a fortress is to be observed about it, being defended on one side by a lofty mountain, and the rest of it being defended by a wall about seven feet thick, the foundations of which are still existing. In this fortress there are stones as large as a mill-stone to be seen: the beams of the roof are of pine, and well finished. In the centre of this vast fabric is a little mount, made on purpose, by what appears, to keep guard on, and observe the enemy. There have been *some ditches found in this place*, and a va-

riety of domestic utensils, earth pans, pots, jars, and little looking glasses of *itzil*, (obsidian.)”

Lieut. Hardy, a British officer, who travelled in this part of Mexico in 1829, also notices a certain “Casa Grande,” which is probably the very one described by Clavigero. His account is as follows:

“Casas Grandes is one of the few ruins existing in Mexico, the original owners of which are said to have come from the north, and I, therefore, determined to examine it. Only a portion of the external walls is standing; the building is square, and of very considerable extent; the sides stand accurately north and south, which gives reason to suppose that the builders were not unversed in astronomy, having determined so precisely the cardinal points. The roof has long lain in the area of the building, and there are several excavations said to have been made by the Apache Indians to discover earthenware, jars and shells. A specimen of the jars I was fortunate enough to procure, and it is in excellent preservation. There were also good specimens of earthen images in the Egyptian(?) style, which are to me at least so perfectly uninteresting, that I was at no pains to procure any of them.(!) The country here, for an extent of several leagues, is covered with the ruins of buildings capable of containing a population of at least twenty or thirty thousand souls. Casas Grandes is indeed particularly favorable for maintaining so many inhabitants. Situated by the side of a large river which periodically inundates a great part of the low surrounding lands, the verdure is perpetual. There are ruins also of aqueducts, and in short, every indication that its former inhabitants were men who knew how to avail themselves of the advantages of nature, and improve them by art; but who they were, and what became of them, it is impossible to tell. On the south bank of the Rio Gila there is another specimen of these singular ruins; and it may be observed, that wherever these traces are found, the surrounding country invariably possesses great fertility of soil, and abundance of wood and water.”*

With these facts before him, relating to the existing aboriginal families of New

* Travels in the Interior of Mexico, p. 465.

co and Upper California, the attention of the reader is next requested to the less interesting facts which follow, relating to the inhabitants of these territories at the period of the first Spanish contact, in 1540-42. It is proper to observe, before proceeding, that many of these facts are drawn from the "Notes on the Semi-Civilization of New Mexico," by

ALBERT GALLATIN, contained in the second volume of the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*,—a volume

which, for the variety and value of information which it contains, upon zoological and ethnological subjects, rarely been excelled by the publications of any learned society. Mr. Gallatin collected and collated most of the early documents of Spanish adventure in these regions, with that industry and critical care for which his scientific labors are distinguished; and has left little to be added by those who shall succeed him in the field. Several valuable relations, however, escaped his attention, and as failed to fix with certainty, or rather to his own satisfaction, some important details, the positions of which, in the opinion of the writer of this article, can safely admit of doubt.

The untiring zeal with which the Spanish adventurers prosecuted their discoveries between the tropics and in the adjacent

regions, during the first half of the sixteenth century,—leaving out of view the enterprises of De Soto, Ponce de Leon, Hernandez, Pizarro, and others,—cannot, perhaps, be better illustrated than by the following facts that in 1528-36, Cabeza de Vaca crossed the continent from Apalachee, Florida, to the Pacific Ocean; that in 1540-42, Vasquez Coronado passed from Mexico northward, through intervening savage tribes, crossed the Gila, marched to the sources of some of the western branches of the Colorado of California, crossed the mountains dividing the waters of the continent, and descended into the valley of the Rio Grande, thence traversed the intervening country, and penetrated to the wide plains of the great buffalo range, and the upper waters of the Arkansas; that at the same period, Fernando de Soto, animated by a like adventurous spirit, reached the Gulf of California, and

coasted along its shores to its head, sailed upon the Colorado, and determined the peninsular character of Lower California; and that all this was done nearly one hundred years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth; before Hudson floated his ship upon the noble waters bearing his name, and before Smith spread the terrors of his arm among the Indians of Virginia, at Jamestown. The accounts which we have presented of the existence of mysterious ruined edifices upon the Rio Gila, of the character and habits of the aboriginal inhabitants upon its banks, to the northward, and on the sources of the Rio Grande, in New Mexico, will have, to most readers, all the novelty of new discoveries; yet all these regions and tribes were visited and accurately described three hundred years ago, within fifteen years after Cortez subverted the Empire of Montezuma! The impulse which originated and sustained these expeditions, surpassing the adventures of romance in the astonishing variety of their incidents, was not, it is true, much to be admired. Mixed with an avarice as absorbing as it was unscrupulous, there was nevertheless much of that chivalric spirit which glories in great deeds, and which emulation and rivalry had urged to a point of almost superhuman daring. Nothing less than this, joined to an indomitable perseverance, could have sustained the early Spanish leaders under the difficulties and sufferings to which they were continually exposed, and which they uncomplainingly met, and bravely surmounted.

At the time of the conquest of Mexico, little seems to have been known, by the natives, of the nations bounding their provinces at the north, further than that most of them were wild and predatory. Those upon the north-west were designated by names signifying *barbarians*. No sooner, however, had the general subjugation of Mexico and its immediate dependencies been completed, and its provinces partitioned among the Spanish leaders, than the attention of the latter was directed to the unknown regions beyond them, of the riches and magnificence of which they often received the most exaggerated reports. Nuno de Guzman, to whom had been assigned the governorship of New Galicia, comprising the northern division

of Mexico, heard many of these accounts, relating to countries to the northward of his jurisdiction, which excited his curiosity and inflamed his avarice. He had in his service a Tejos (Taos?) Indian, who told him of a vast northern country abounding in gold and silver, and occupied by a numerous population, living in towns as large as Mexico. Confiding in these accounts, Guzman collected an army, and in 1530 started for this unknown region. Difficulties however intervened, and the expedition was abandoned. The Tejos Indian soon after died, and the story of "the seven towns" died with him.

Attention was nevertheless once more directed to the subject by De Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, who accompanied Pamphilo Narvaez in his unfortunate expedition into Florida, in 1528; but who, more successful than his leader, with a few followers, after encountering incredible hardships, and wandering for eight years in unknown regions, succeeded in reaching the Pacific Ocean, and finally the Spanish settlements in Mexico. "He stated that the natives which he had encountered along the sea shore, west of the Mississippi river, were miserably poor, living principally on fish. But in the interior, and farther westward, he found some tribes cultivating the maize, and others, who derived their subsistence from buffaloes, which he denominated 'wild cows,' and which he had seen in immense numbers. He also stated that he had heard of great cities, with houses four stories high, situated in the same direction indicated by the Tejos Indian. Antonio de Mendoza, who was at this time Viceroy of New Spain, and Vasquez Coronado, who had succeeded Guzman in New Galicia, aroused by these accounts, took measures to have the unknown northern region of which they had heard so much, explored. For that purpose they despatched a Franciscan, named Marcos de Niza, with several companions, (one of whom was a negro, named Estevanico, who had accompanied Cabeça in his wanderings,) with orders to assure the Indians of good treatment for the future, and to penetrate as far northward as they could go with safety. Niza proceeded as far as the lower border of the desert, beyond which the country of which he was in search was supposed to lie, and the name of which he had

heard was Civila, or Cibola. Previously to his arriving at this point, he had despatched some of his companions forward, who penetrated to Cibola, where they were attacked, and most of them slain. The survivors retreated precipitately, and met Niza at the point above indicated. They were highly exasperated, and the monk was obliged to appease them by dividing amongst them the valuables in his possession. He went no farther, but fled to Mexico, where, in 1539, in addition to an exaggerated account of his actual adventures, he imposed upon the viceroy a fabulous statement, in which he pretended that he had crossed the desert with two Indian chiefs; that he arrived in sight of Cibola; that it contained cities more extensive than Mexico, and that there was a great "richeness" there and an abundance of gold and silver and precious stones.* His account, exaggerated and false as it afterwards proved to be, nevertheless inflamed the imaginations of the Spaniards to the highest degree. They fancied another Mexico in the kingdom of Cibola, and were eager to add it to their list of conquests. Cortez, as Captain General of New Spain, and Mendoza, as Viceroy of Mexico, disputed with each other the right to undertake the conquest of Cibola. Mendoza persisted and fitted out a numerous army of Spaniards and Indians, with a regiment of cavalry, for the expedition. Cortez, disgusted, retired to Spain.

The command of the expedition was given to Coronado, the Governor of New Galicia. It set out immediately and arrived at Culican, two hundred leagues north of Mexico, on the second day after Easter, 1540. Coronado, leaving the main body behind, went forward with sixty horsemen, among whom was the monk Niza.

* The expedition undertaken upon the authority of Niza's relation, while it stamped him as an impostor, gave rise, notwithstanding its unfortunate results, to many jests at the expense of the Franciscan. "The famous Seven Cities of Brother Niza," says Gomara, with bitterness, according the unsatisfactory results of the expedition, "The famous Seven Cities of Brother Niza, which occupy six leagues of country, may contain a population of perhaps four thousand, whose only wealth consists in having nothing to eat, and in going naked through the seven months!" But honest Gomara erred in the direction from "Brother Niza."

and the Capt. Jaramillo. They proceeded on the Pacific slope, westward of the mountains separating the waters of the continent. In thirty days they arrived at Chichilti-calli, (house of Chichilti,) on the edge of a desert and chain of mountains. This point, according to Coronado's own account, was ten days' journey from the mouth of the river, or from the sea. In attaining it they had crossed several streams, Petatlan, Cinaloa, Taquemi and Senora, upon the banks of which they found a considerable agricultural population.

All these streams fell into the Gulf of California, and this point was estimated to be three hundred leagues north of Culican. After crossing the mountains, (probably a spur of the Sierra Mimbres, separating the lower or main fork of the Gila from its other more northern tributaries, or from the eastern tributaries of the Colorado,) they found several rivers, which they called San Juan, Frio, and Vermejo, and in thirteen days arrived at the first village of Cibola. The village was small, containing perhaps two hundred warriors: the houses were three or four stories high, composed of stones and mud. The inhabitants of the province, which was composed of seven villages, situated in a valley six leagues long, all united in defence of the first town. They were attacked and defeated, and the whole province brought at once in submission. The horses and fire-arms of the invaders were as effectual here, in inspiring terror and subduing the inhabitants, as they had proved among the more civilized people to the southward.

Twenty-five leagues further to the north-westward, the Spaniards heard of another province, called *Tucayan*, also containing several towns, which was conquered by a detachment sent by Coronado.

Shortly after some Indians came to Cibola from Cicuyé, situated seventy leagues to the north-east, who tendered the services and friendship of their nation. Coronado sent Capt. Alvarado to accompany them back. After five days' march, crossing mountains, they arrived at a village called *Acuco*, (Acoma of Lieut. Abert,) built upon an inaccessible rock, the inhabitants of which made peace with the Spaniards. Three days after, Alvarado reached the province of *Tiguex*, from whence he sent a messenger to Coronado, advising him to take up his quarters in

that district, and in five days reached Cicuyé. He soon returned to Tiguex, where he was joined by Coronado, and where he wintered.

These operations had been carried on by an advance detachment. The main body designed for the expedition, remained at Culican for a time, but afterwards advanced to the valley of Senora, (thus called to this day,) when provisions being abundant, they established a temporary colony.

Melchior Diaz remained with a detachment as Governor of Cibola, and a man named Gallego returned to Senora, conveying the news of Coronado's conquests, and taking with him the monk Niza, whose relations having been proved wholly false, he was in danger of losing his life at the hands of the enraged soldiers. We hear no more of him.

The remainder of the army under the guidance of Gallego, followed the track of Coronado, arrived at Cibola, and in the beginning of December left that place to join their commander at Tiguex. This last stage occupied them ten days; they crossed mountains, when it snowed every night,—passing, in some places, through snow three feet deep. Their arrival at Tiguex was opportune, for the province, in consequence of the excesses of the Spaniards, had revolted. It required two months to reduce the people once more to obedience, during which time many severe contests seem to have taken place.* A portion of the inhabitants fled to the mountains, and could not be induced to return while the Spaniards were in the territory.

In the spring, (5th of May,) the Spaniards left Tiguex for Cicuyé, twenty-five leagues to the north-east. Near here they found a deep river which it was necessary to cross on a bridge. Proceeding upon information, intentionally deceptive and undoubtedly designed by the Indians to lead them out of their country, they continued their march to the north-eastward, and at the end of six or seven days came to great plains, where for the first time they found Buffaloes. "These animals and

* Gomara states that the reduction of one of the towns occupied the Spanish forces for *forty-five days*. "The people, when besieged, drank snow instead of water, and seeing themselves forlorn, made a great fire, wherein they cast all their valuables, their mantles and feathers, so that the strangers might not enjoy them."

their immense numbers, the plains with their deep ravines, and the Indians totally differing from those they had yet encountered, deriving their food and clothing from the Buffalo, are all minutely described. The description would now apply with precision to the country and the tribes which still inhabit it. The latter they called *Querechos*, which are undoubtedly the Arapahoes. Coronado, disengaged by the unpromising prospect, sent back the main body of the army, proceeding himself with thirty-six men to the northward, in search of a country abounding in the precious metals, which he was still assured existed in that direction. He soon met with a tribe of Indians, distinct from the *Querechos*, which were called "Teyas," (Taos?) who came into these plains to hunt the Buffalo. Their residence was in the valley of the Tiguex river, above the nation of that name. "They are said to be late invaders, who had come from the north, and had destroyed some villages in the vicinity of Cicuyé, but being repelled there, had made peace with the other inhabitants of the valley, and settled near them." They proved friendly towards the Spaniards, and supplied them with guides. Coronado continued his march northward still further, as high, Mr. Gallatin believes, as the 40th parallel of latitude, where he found Indians who still hunted the Buffalo, but who had some fixed villages. He also received information of a great river, the banks of which were thickly inhabited, which must have been the Missouri or Mississippi. He proceeded no further, the season being advanced, but returned to Tiguex, where, with his whole army, he spent the winter of 1541-42. It was his evident intention to resume his explorations to the north in the spring, but an accidental wound, and the attractions of a noble wife and young family at home, together with the disappointment and discontent of his followers, led him to evacuate a territory which held out no inducements for retaining possession. Accordingly, in the spring, he led his army back to Culican; but, bringing no treasures, no second Montezuma to grace his return, he was coldly received by the Viceroy, lost his reputation and his government of New Galicia together, and ~~and into retirement, a disappointed man~~

Some monks, with a few followers, persisted in remaining behind in Tiguex, but most of them were soon killed, and the rest obliged to leave the country. Nevertheless, a few years thereafter, some zealous missionaries found their way into the country; and, in about forty years subsequently to Coronado's evacuation, a part of Tiguex was occupied by a party of Spaniards under one Leyva Bonillo. It does not appear, however, that much was done towards the second reduction of the country, until about 1600, when it was occupied by Juan de Onate. Eighty years afterwards, (1680,) the Indians revolted throughout the entire region and massacred the Spaniards, but were again reduced, after a protracted contest of ten years, (in 1690,) since which time they have been, nominally at least, subject to the Spaniards. The Moqui and Navajos, however, succeeded in maintaining their independence, which they still preserve.

In determining the several localities visited by Coronado, with the purpose of ascertaining the positions of Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuyé, etc., we must not forget that the Spaniards, wandering in a new country, could not have kept their bearings or recorded distances with great exactness. We can regard their estimates therefore as only approximating to the truth. Besides, our knowledge of the geography of this wide region is, even now, quite limited. The maps of Emory, Abert, Farnham, Gregg, and others, have furnished a very good general outline, leaving, nevertheless, some broad blanks to be supplied by future explorers. Of the region between the Gila and Colorado, in which, near the dividing ridge of the continent, the "Kingdom of the Cibola" was undoubtedly situated, we have very little knowledge, general or geographical, beyond that furnished by the early explorers. The deficiency, it is believed, will not offer an insurmountable obstacle to the success of our inquiry.

Allowing thirty miles to the day's march, which is about the average, under favorable circumstances, we have one hundred and twenty miles as the distance between the point on the Senora river, left by Coronado in his advance, and Chichilti-calli, between longitudes 109° and 110° W. This is, according to the best maps, about the distance between the Senora river and the

called Nexpa by the chronicler. The very, upon the Nexpa, of ruined edifices corresponding with those known to be on the Gila, supports the belief that two are identical, at the same time that it is the antiquity of these remains. The opinion of Chichilti-calli, by Castenada, chronicler of Coronado's expedition, sets it as situated at the edge of the town of Cibola, consisting of a large roofed structure, built of red earth, and apparently at one time fortified. It is stated to have been destroyed by the natives, who constitute the most barbarous people in the region, probably the roving Apaches.

According to the relation of Castenada, who was, however, committed to writing many years after the occurrences to which he refers,) they were *thirteen* days from the town of Chichilti-calli, on the Nexpa or to the first town of Cibola, named Cibola by Coronado, and situated upon a river flowing westward. The distance to point from the Gila, upon our previous route, would be nearly four hundred miles; in crossing mountains or traversing a barren country, transversely to the direction of its water courses, they could not have exceeded, but would probably have gone below, twenty miles a day, which, in thirteen days, would amount to about one hundred miles. Assuming that they had gone due north from their former position, which they must have done, unless they had crossed the great dividing ridge of mountains, here running north and south,) they had, in this distance, have nearly arrived in a valley of the stream known as the Jaquesila, one of the largest eastern tributaries of the Rio Colorado, the position of which is only approximately known. Mendoza himself, in his letter to Mendoza, does not state the number of days occupied in his last march. He speaks of it, however, as far the most difficult part of the journey, and says, "The first day we had no grass, but a worse way for mountains and bad passages, than we had yet had, and the horses being tired and much molested therewith, so that we lost more horses than we lost before, and some of the Indians died, and one Spaniard and two negroes, who died of eating herbs for want of victuals." He says elsewhere, "It was the most wicked way, because of its impossible mountains." It appears from

his relation, however, that he travelled but thirty leagues and two days; in all say forty leagues or one hundred and twenty miles. The towns of the Cibola may have been situated upon some of the branches of the Jaquesila which take their rise in the mountains west from Santa Fé. It is, however, most likely, that they occupied the valley of some one of the northern tributaries of the Gila. But from what we can learn of these streams, there are none of them which extend thirteen days northward, unless it is the Rio Salinas of Lieut. Emory.* It may be regarded as certain, whatever the stream upon which they are situated, whether a tributary of the Gila or of the Colorado, that the towns of the Cibola occurred about one hundred and fifty miles northward of the Gila, about sixty miles from the western base of the Sierra de Anahuac, the dividing ridge between the waters of the Colorado and Rio Grande, between lat. 35° and 37° N., and long. 108° and 110° W.

From the accounts, the towns of Tucayan were situated about seventy-five miles to the northeast of Cibola, upon the same side of the mountains. We have no knowledge of any locality, corresponding in position, now retaining traces of an aboriginal civilization. It now, probably, falls in the country of the Navajos. There can be no doubt, however, as to the position of the town of Acuco. It answers fully to the existing town of Acoma, visited by Lieut. Abert, which, as already mentioned, is situated among the mountains, upon the San José, a small branch of the Puerco, a tributary of the Rio Grande. In reaching this point, Coronado's followers crossed the dividing ridge through the snow, as already described.

The river of the Tigue, three days' march beyond Acoma, upon which the

* If Lieut. Emory is correct in supposing that the Rio Salinas holds the course indicated by the dotted line on his map, there can be no doubt that the Cibola villages were situated upon that river. We must, however, cut down the day's journey of Castenada to ten or fifteen miles, otherwise we shall place the Cibola country in too high a latitude. On the hypothesis that Lieut. Emory is correct, and that these towns were upon the Salinas, the rest of Castenada's account is not only consistent with itself, but wonderfully accurate, in respect to courses and distances. The ruined buildings on the Salinas, of which Lieut. Emory speaks, would favor this conclusion.

towns bearing the same name were situated, is clearly the Rio Grande. Following the course of the streams, which the Spaniards would naturally do, the distance from Acoma to the Rio Grande is about ninety miles. Here we find Quivera, Quarra, Tegique, Jemez and other towns, which are easily to be recognized in the Quivix or Quirix, the Tiguex and Hemez of Castenada's narrative. Nor is there any difficulty in deciding, from the description of the chronicler, that the present almost impregnable Pueblo of Taos is the identical prodigious structure called Braba at this early period.

Cicuyé, which is said to have been five days' march to the northeast of Tiguex, was probably the town now in ruins, known as the ruins of Pecos, and situated upon the large eastern tributary of the Rio Grande, bearing the name of Rio Pecos.* If not that particular town, it must have been one not far distant from it. Pecos is distant about one hundred miles northeast of the present town of Tegique, or one hundred and twenty miles northeast of the point where Coronado must first have struck the Rio Grande.

There is no difficulty, as has been already observed, in recognizing the region into which Coronado penetrated, after leaving Cicuyé. The first river encountered was the Rio Mora, the main branch of the Nutria or North Canadian fork of the Arkansas. The main body of the Spaniards wandered through the plains above the Nutria for thirty-seven days, and according to Castenada's computation must have travelled two hundred leagues beyond Tiguex. It cannot be supposed, however, that they maintained a constant direction. In returning, under the guidance of some Tejos Indians, they reached the river of Cicuyé or Pecos, thirty leagues below the place where they passed it before. They were told that it united with the Tiguex or Rio Grande, twenty days' journey to the southward. Allowing twenty miles to the days' journey, this would make the point of junction exactly where recent discoveries have ascertained that it occurs.

The *Tejos* Indians, (which Mr. Gallatin, by mistake, often calls Texans,) who occupied the upper waters of the Rio Grande,

are clearly those which are now called the Taos Indians. They have very nearly assimilated to the descendants of the Tiguex. It is equally clear that the *Querechos*, the roving hunters of the buffalo plains, were no other than the Arapahoea.

Respecting the ruins of *Chichiliti*, found on the Gila, it may be observed that one of the Indian towns, to the east of the Rio Grande, is to this day called *Chichiliti* or *Chillili*, a coincidence worth mentioning, in connection with the story of the Spaniards, that the ruined buildings were built by an extinct colony of the people of Cibola or Tiguex.

If any doubt still exists as to the correctness of the position which we have assigned to the country of Cibola, it must be entirely dispelled by the following passages from the relation of Antonio de Espejo, who visited this region about forty years after Coronado's expedition; and who not only passed through Tiguex into Cibola, but into the, as yet, unvisited country of the Moqui, further to the westward. This relation seems entirely to have escaped the attention of the various authors and explorers already named. It will be seen that the Soones of Lieut. Emory, and the Zunni of Mr. Gregg, are none other than the people of Cibola themselves, still occupying the country possessed by their ancestors in 1540.*

In 1581-83, Espejo, proceeding upon the accounts of Ruiz, a Franciscan monk, started with a numerous train of followers for the mines of San Barbara, in the department of New Biscay, (now falling in the state of San Luis Potosi,) and directed his course to the northeast. He encountered many Indian nations, and finally reached the Rio Grande, which he ascended to Tiguex. He left it at the proper point, probably near the mouth of the Puerco, and directed his course westwardly, to

* We are thus relieved from the improbable supposition which Mr. Gallatin's hypothesis involves, namely, that the towns of the Cibola have been destroyed by the Apaches, and the inhabitants scattered beyond recognition. Mr. Gallatin, it should be observed, places Cibola on the upper waters of the principal fork of the Gila, or rather of the Gila proper. From the account of Castenada, it seems very certain that the Apaches, at that time, occupied this very region, and had already destroyed the colonies which had erected Chichiliti-calli, and the other structures then found in ruins.

* On some maps this river is incorrectly named *Puerca*.

wards the country of the Cibola. The first place he encountered was Acuco, which, however, he calls by its present name, Acoma. His reception is thus recounted:—

“About fifteen leagues from this province, (Ameries,) travelling always towards the west, they found a great town called *Acoma*, containing about five thousand persons, and situated upon an high rock, which was about fifty paces high, having no other entrance but by a ladder or flight of stairs, hewn into the same rock; whereat our people marvelled not a little. All the water of this town was kept in cisterns. The chief men came peaceably to visit the Spaniards, bringing with them many mantles and chamois skins, excellently dressed, and great plenty of victuals. Their corn fields are about two leagues from thence, and they fetch water out of a small river near thereto, [the San José?] to water the same; on the banks whereof, they saw many great banks of roses, like those of Castile. Our men remained in this place three days, upon one of which the inhabitants made before them a very solemn dance, coming forth in the same with very gallant apparel, using very witty sports, wherewith our men were exceedingly delighted.

“Twenty-four leagues from hence, towards the west, they came to a certain province called by the inhabitants themselves *Zuny*, and by the Spaniards *Cibola*, containing great numbers of Indians; in which province Vasquez Coronado had been, and had erected many crosses and other tokens of Christianity, which remained as yet standing. Here they also found three Indian Christians, who had remained here ever since the said journey, and had almost forgotten their language.”

By these Indians, Espejo was informed of a great lake sixty days’ journey distant, upon the banks of which were many large towns, the inhabitants of which had abundance of gold. He proposed to go there, but was able to persuade only nine of his followers to accompany him. With them he set out, and had proceeded but twenty-eight leagues to the westward of Cibola, when he discovered “another great province which, by estimation, contained above fifty thousand souls.” The inhabitants were distrustful, and sent him notice, upon pain of death, not to approach their towns. Espejo, however, through the intervention of kind words, backed by numerous presents, succeeded in obtaining access to them. “A great multitude,” he says, “came forth to meet him, sprinkling meal or maize upon the ground before his

horses.” Arrived in the principal town, they were well lodged and provided for, and altogether “much made of them.” Lest, however, they might change their favorable disposition, Espejo persuaded them to build a strong enclosure for his horses, which he represented to be very fierce and dangerous, and in this fortress encamped with his party—“a wittie policie,” which the chronicler recommends to all explorers who may hereafter be placed under similar circumstances. When he left, Espejo took with him a great store of “mantles of cotton, both white and other colors, with many hand-towels, with tassels at their corners, and a quantity of rich metals, which seemed to have much silver.”

This province was called *Mohotze*, in which those accustomed to Indian names will find no difficulty in detecting the modern *Moqui*, corrupted by traders and others into *Mackey* and *Munchie*. The principal town was *Zaguato* or *Ahuato*. The inhabitants, in buildings, agriculture, etc., differed in no essential respect from the people of Cibola, with whom they maintained an intercourse.

According to the account of Castenada, all the villages at Cibola, in Tiguex and elsewhere, were built on the same plan. They did not consist of houses, but rather of *ranges of houses*, separated by streets, each block constituting a square. They coincided in modes of entrance and defence, in short, in all respects, with the edifices of the present Pueblos, as described by Lieut. Abert. They were seldom more than three or four stories high, but Castenada mentions some of seven stories. The town of *Cicuyé* was surrounded by a low stone wall, and the inhabitants asserted that they had never been subdued.

“The houses were well arranged in the interior. There was always a kitchen and an oven, and a distinct room for breaking the maize, and converting it into meal. This work, as usual, among the aborigines, was performed by the women. At a distance from the mountains, they had no fuel but dried grass, which they collected in large quantities, both for cooking and warmth.” Their buildings were composed of prepared earth. According to Castenada, “They had no lime, but substituted for it a mixture of ashes, earth and coal; and, although their houses were several stories high, the walls were but half a fathom thick. They

great heaps of rushes and grass, and set them on fire ; when reduced to coal and ashes, they threw over the mass a quantity of earth and water, and mixed the whole together. Of this compound they formed cakes which they used instead of stones. They plastered the outside of their buildings with the same mixture, so that the whole had the appearance of mason's work. This work was done by the women. The men brought the wood and did the carpentry."

" Under ground there were subterranean rooms, called by the Spaniards '*Estufas*', literally '*Stews*', and which may be translated 'Air-baths.' In the middle of each was a fire, which was constantly fed with thyme or dried grass. These places were entered only by the men ; women were forbidden to visit them. Some of them were round, others square ; their upper floor, which was on a level with the ground, was supported by pine pillars, and they were paved with large smooth stones. Some were as large as a 'tennis court.' The *Estufas* at Braba were very large, and supported by twelve pine pillars, each of which was two fathoms in circumference and two fathoms high."

From the circumstances that a constant fire was kept up in these *Estufas*, that they were forbidden to women, and that sacred dances and councils were held only in them, we are able to identify them as corresponding to the structures of the Floridian Indians, called "*Hot Houses*" by the traders. In these also burned the eternal fire ; they were temples and council-houses, and were *tabooed* to the women. The correspondences here displayed, no doubt extended to the religions of the respective nations, but upon this point Castenada is silent. Coronado, however, states that the people of Cibola worshipped the water, for the reason that it caused their corn to grow and maintained their life, and because their fathers had worshipped it before them. In respect to the religion of the people on the Rio Grande, Espejo informs us that they "had many idols, which they worshipped, and particularly in every house an oratory (the *Estufa*) for the devil, whereunto they ordinarily carry him meat. And as it is the use among Christians to erect crosses upon the highways, so have this people certain high chapels, in which they say the devil useth to take his ease, and recreate himself as he travelleth from one town to another,—which

chapels are particularly well trimmed and painted." The ruins of small circular and other enclosures, observed on eminent positions by Lieuts. Emory and Abert, are no doubt those of the sacred edifices mentioned by Espejo, and it is worthy of remark that the same ideas which led to their erection, existed among the Aztecs, who erected small temples on the hills and mountains, by the banks of streams and lakes, and at the corners of streets, for the accommodation of the invisible divinities which, they believed, were constantly present and moving amongst them.

" All these people subsisted principally on vegetable food. ~~Maize~~, beans and pumpkins are repeatedly mentioned as being universally cultivated, and to these mezquite bread was occasionally added. Accounts differ as to the abundance of the supply. At Cibola, enough was raised to sustain the inhabitants, but at the other places mentioned, the soil was so fertile and easy of cultivation, that it was not necessary to plough the ground in order to sow, and the crops of one year would supply the inhabitants with food for seven. At planting time the ground was often covered with the preceding crops, which it had not been found necessary to take away.

" Game was not plentiful. There were, however, some antelopes and deer, besides ducks, turkeys, and partridges in abundance. Some of these fowls appear to have been tamed, as the Spaniards frequently speak of being supplied with poultry by the Indians."

The articles of dress consisted of prepared deer and buffalo skins, and cotton mantles of different sizes, but usually a Spanish yard and a half in length. They had also ornamental feather dresses, plaited on a network of thread. A most extraordinary fact is stated by Castenada, viz : that the unmarried women went perfectly naked, summer and winter ; the reason assigned for which was, that any departure from chastity would be at once revealed. We do not, however, find the statement confirmed by other accounts.

Castenada states that cotton was not grown in New Mexico, but Jaramillo testifies that it was cultivated. Mr. Gallatin observes that the black-seed or American cotton will grow as far north as the latitude of Virginia, and it can hardly be doubted that it was cultivated by the Indians on the Rio Grande, as it now is by those on the Gila. Mr. Gallatin thinks,

however, that it could not have grown there spontaneously, but was brought from the south, between the tropics, from which direction he is disposed to derive all the agriculture of the continent. We may here mention, incidentally, that there are many circumstances which weigh heavily, if, indeed, they are not conclusive against this hypothesis.

Bows and arrows, clubs and bucklers, were the weapons of these Indians. They made fine pottery, and well varnished and highly ornamented vases are frequently mentioned as of common manufacture.

In character they are represented by Castenada as sensible, industrious, honest, and peaceable, indulging in no excesses, and refraining from cannibalism and human sacrifices. They had chiefs, but were usually governed by a council of old men, after the manner of the semi-civilized tribes of Florida. As observed by Mr. Gallatin, "although perhaps as intelligent as the Mexicans, and certainly more humane, they are in most other respects, especially in science and arts, very inferior to them." They were, and still are, remarkable for their conjugal fidelity, their respect for property, and for their integrity in all their dealings. Offences against society were efficiently punished by universal contempt, rather than by penal enactments, which circumstance bespeaks a far higher standard of morality than any other American nation possessed. Perfect equality existed among them; there were no serfs or degraded castes; nor were they oppressed by a coalition of hereditary masters leagued with an exacting priesthood. They were thus exempt from many of those evils which usually attend the early progress of a people towards civilization. They form, says the venerable investigator now quoted, "the only refreshing episode in the course of my researches" into the early condition of the aboriginal nations of the continent.

At the risk of protracting this notice to an unreasonable length, we must be permitted to add a few words more respecting the "unexplored region" in which the towns of Cibola were situated, and which is bounded on the east by the Sierra Anahuac and the Sierra Mimbres, on the south by the Gila, on the west by the Colorado, and north by the mountain chains sepa-

rating it from the great basin of the Salt lake. It seems to be a high plain, without verdure, and intersected by a few ranges of mountains, the general course of which is north-east and south-west, and which give the same direction to the streams by which the country is traversed. The valleys of these streams, as we gather from the early accounts—and we have no others—are narrow and fertile, and within them are found semi-civilized inhabitants, corresponding with those occupying the towns of Cibola. The people of the different valleys, and those of different parts of the same valley, as we gather from Coronado, Espejo and Garcias, were, and no doubt still are, independent of each, but maintain the most friendly relations, speak the same language, and have common institutions, habits and customs. The tribes or various communities known under the indefinite name of Moqui, were visited, as we have already seen, as early as 1583, by Espejo, and afterwards in 1773 by Father Garcias. The descriptions which they have left us, might answer for the people of Cibola or Tiguex.

They have never been subjugated, and no doubt retain their primitive habits, impaired in no essential respect by the changes which have been going on in all other parts of North America during the past three hundred years. They therefore afford to the intelligent explorer an opportunity, never again to be enjoyed, of investigating aboriginal semi-civilization under its original aspects. Included now within the territory of trading, land-absorbing America, it will not be long before their fastnesses will be penetrated by the "Surveyor of Public Lands," and the advantageous sites for mill seats and future cities, be duly displayed in lithographic splendor, upon the walls of the office of the "*Moqui Universal Improvement and Land Investment Association, No. — Wall street, New York!*" Farewell then to the peace, simplicity, and the happiness of this Californian Arcadia!

In respect to the ruins on the Gila it may be observed, that although they differ slightly in construction from the buildings which existed at Cibola, and which still exist in New Mexico, they fall palpably within the capabilities of the people we have described, and may with great

plausibility, be attributed to them. If the account given by Captain Johnston on a previous page, of terraced and truncated pyramids, should be confirmed, the fact will certainly go far to prove that, if not erected by the Aztecs in their traditional migration from Aztalan, they were at least erected by a people having similar notions respecting the proper form for sacred edifices. We certainly have no account of the erection of such structures by the people of Cibola or New Mexico.

The general erection of tumuli over the dead, the construction of vast terraced pyramidal piles for sacred purposes, seem to have marked the steps of that primitive people, vaguely denominated the Toltecs, whose more imposing monuments still rear their spectral fronts among the dense tropical forests of Central America and Yucatan, but whose ruder, because earlier structures throng the fertile alluvions which border the great Mississippi river and its giant tributaries,—silent but most conclusive illustrations of the Grand Law of Development, the stages of which nature has graven in the imperishable rocks, and of the truth of which history as a whole is an example and a witness. The Aztecs seem to have been of the Toltec stock, modified in their character from intermixture or association with fiercer families. They undoubtedly derived their science and their elementary religious conceptions from their Toltec kindred, and shared with them their not unmeaning nor yet unphilosophical predilections for pyramidal altars and elevated temples.*

* The following observations by Mr. Gallatin, upon the probable origin of the "Casas Grandes" or "Casas Montezuma," as they have been called, are worthy of attention:—

"The traditions of the Mexicans say that they came from the north or northwest, and occasionally remaining several years in different places, arrived at about the end of one hundred and fifty years, in the valley of Mexico. The supposition that they came from the Rio Gila, or any country north of it, was a mere conjecture of the Spaniards, which does not appear to have been sustained by any other fact than that of the ruins above mentioned. It is indeed contradicted by the Mexican traditions which placed Aztlan, not in some unknown remote country, but adjacent to Michoacan; and according to Fernando D'Alva, *they were descendants of ancient Toltecs, who had fled to Aztlan, and who now returned to the country of their ancestors. If an identity of language*

Note 1.—Knowledge of New Mexico by the Aztecs before the Conquest.—The hypothesis of Mr. Gallatin that all agriculture in America originated between the tropics, implies intercommunication, at some period, between the aboriginal nations of New Mexico and those cultivating the soil to the southward. We must put this period remotely back, or admit, upon the same hypothesis, a knowledge on the part of the Aztecs of the existence of semi-civilized nations to the northward,—a knowledge which Mr. Gallatin is disposed wholly to deny to them. If we may credit De Solis, living buffaloes were kept in the zoological gardens of Montezuma at Mexico, and it was here that the Spaniards first saw them. De Solis' description is rather an amusing one, and is subjoined: "One of the greatest rarities was the Mexican bull; a wonderful composition of various animals. It has crooked shoulders, with a bunch on its back like a camel; its flanks dry; its tail large, and its neck covered with hair like a lion. It is cloven-footed, its head armed like that of a bull, which it resembles in appearance, with no less strength and fierceness" (*New Mexico*, folio, book iii. p. 76.) In this connection we must remark that *Cibola* means buffalo, and that the kingdom of the Cibola meant simply the kingdom of the Buffalo. As there is no account of the existence of that animal south-west of the Sierra Mimbres, or below the Gila, it follows that it must have been obtained from New Mexico, (with the towns of which the people of Cibola were on the friendliest relations,) thus at once establishing some kind of intercourse between the Aztecs and these remote nations to the northward.

Note 2.—The Exploration of the Gulf of California and the Colorado river.—The voyage of Fernando Alarcon, alluded to in the text, is worthy of more than a passing remark. The subjoined condensed account of it, is from Mr. Gallatin's Notes:

"Fernando Alarcon was sent by the Viceroy Mendoza up the gulf of California, under the expectation that he might assist Coronado's land expedition. He sailed May, 1540, and after encountering many difficulties, reached the bottom of the gulf, and ascertained that California was not an island. He entered a very large river (the Colorado) which emptied into the gulf and had a rapid current. This he ascended nearly one hundred miles, with two shallop drawn with ropes by men on shore. The country was thickly

should hereafter be ascertained, it will appear most probable that the civilization of the river Gila and of New Mexico must be ascribed to an ancient Toltec colony. If the language should prove different from the Mexican proper, or any of the others spoken between the tropics, we may not be able even to ascertain how this northern civilization originated. Whenever a people has become altogether agricultural, the first germ of civilization has been produced; and subsequent progress will depend upon the circumstances under which they may be placed."

Mr. Gallatin was not aware of the existence of the remains mentioned by Capt. Johnston.

inhabited. The Indians appeared at first frightened, and disposed to interrupt the Spaniards; but Alarcon avoided all hostilities, and they became pacified, even assisting in drawing the shallows up the stream, and supplying the Spaniards with provisions. They raised maize, beans and pumpkins, and on one occasion gave the Spaniards a loaf of *mezquiqui*. They worshipped the sun; and Alarcon persuaded them that he was the son of that luminary, and forbade them to go to war. They said that when at war they ate the hearts of their enemies (?) and burnt some of their prisoners. Alarcon returned to his vessels in two days and a half; the ascent had occupied fifteen days. He afterwards ascended the river to a higher point, to the vicinity of a district called Comana; met several tribes speaking different languages; heard of the country of the Cibola, which was variously represented to be ten and forty days' journey to the eastward; tried in vain to get letters transported across to Coronado, and finally returned to his vessels and sailed for New Spain. Although the true geography of the gulf was thus early ascertained, the voyage of Alarcon had been so much forgotten in Mexico, that the inhabitants one hundred and sixty years after, in the eighteenth century, regarded it as questionable whether California was an island or a peninsula."—*Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. ii., p. 50.

Note 3.—*Expedition to the Peninsula of California.*—In October, 1540, after the departure of the main body of Coronado's army from Sonora, Melchior Diaz, who was left as Governor of the temporary settlements made there, set off for the sea coast, in order to open a communication with Alarcon's vessels. At the computed distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, he arrived at or near the mouth of the Colorado, which he named Rio del Tizón, because the Indians, in cold weather, carried a firebrand, for the sake of warmth. From indications given by the Indians, he found a tree on the bank of the river, fifteen miles from its mouth, on which was written, "Alarcon came here; there are letters at the foot of the tree." The letters were found, stating that Alarcon had returned to New Spain, and that California was not an island but part of the main. Diaz ascended the river four days, crossed it on rafts, defeating the Indians, who disputed his passage, and marched along the coast of the peninsula to the south-west. He accidentally wounded himself and died, and his party returned to Sonora.—*Ib. p. lxvi.*

Note 4.—*Expedition to the Upper Colorado.*—"In the same year, 1540, after the capture of Tucayan, the Indians of that province gave information of a great river to the north-west. Lopez de Cardenas, with twelve men, were immediately sent by Coronado in that direction. After twenty days' march across a desert, they arrived at the river, which was the Colorado, but far above its mouth. The stream was there buried, apparently more than a thousand feet, below the table land on which the Spaniards stood. The descent was so precipitous that they found it impossible to reach the bed of the river. The country was altogether uninviting, the water scarce, and the weather cold. They accordingly return-

ed to Cibola. The few Indians they met were peaceable and friendly."—*Ib. p. lxvii.*

Note 5.—*The Pinos Indians.*—The Pinos Indians found by Lieut. Emory on the Gila, although peaceable and agricultural, and in some other respects exhibiting a resemblance to the Indian families of New Mexico, and to the westward in the same latitude, nevertheless probably belong to a different family. The inhabitants of all the valleys through which the Spaniards passed, from the time they left Culican until they reached the Gila, seem to have cultivated the maize, beans, pumpkins, &c., and to have had fixed habits. The *Corácones*, mentioned by Coronado, the *Talues* of Castenada, the inhabitants of *Petatlan*, and of the valleys of *Senora* and *Suya*, were all of this character. Their houses, like those of the Pinos, were made of dry rush, and were mere sheds. From his account we may infer that Coronado found Indians of like habits, etc., on the Gila. On the plains and in the desert regions intervening between the valleys above named, were found various barbarous families, among which, and most numerous, were the *Acaras*, which were probably the Apaches.

Note 6.—*Account of Cibola, from Coronado's letter to the Viceroy Mendoza.*—"In this town where I remain, there be some two hundred houses, all compassed with walls, and I think with the rest of the houses not so walled there may be five hundred. There is another town near this, which is one of the seven, which is somewhat bigger, another of the same bigness, and four somewhat less. I send them all painted herewith to your lordship, and the parchment whereon the picture was found here, with other parchments. The people seem of a reasonable stature and wittie, yet they seem not such as they should be, of that judgment and wit to build houses in the sort that they are. For the most part they go nearly naked, but they have painted mantles. They have no cotton wool growing, because of the cold of the country, but they have mantles thereof, and in their houses was found cotton yarn. They have divers precious stones and crystals. We found here Guinen cocks, but few. The Indians say they eat them not, but keep them for their feathers; but I believe them not, for they are excellent good, and greater than those of Mexico. The season which is in this country, and the temperature of the air is like that of Mexico; for sometimes it is hot and sometimes it raineth; but hitherto I never saw it rain. The snow and cold are wont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the country, and it is very likely to be, both in respect to the manner of the country and by the fashion of their houses, and their furs and other things which the people have to defend them from the cold. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruit. The country is all plain and is on no side mountainous, albeit there are some hills and bad passages. There is small store of fowls, (birds?) the cause whereof is the cold, and because the mountains are not near. Here is no great store of wood, because they have wood for their fuel sufficient four leagues off, from a wood of small cedars. There is most excellent grass within a quarter league hence. The victuals which the people of the country have is maize,

whereof they have great stock, and also small white pease, and venison, which by all likelihood they feed upon, although they say no, for we found many skins of deer, of hares, and conies. They eat the best cakes I ever saw, and everybody generally eateth of them. They have the finest order and way of grinding their grain we ever anywhere saw, and one Indian woman of this country will grind as much as seven women in Mexico. They have good salt in the kernel which they bring from a certain lake a day's journey hence. They have no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor the Western Sea, neither can I tell your lordship which is the nearest. But in reason they should be nearest the Western Sea,

and at least I think it is an hundred and ~~five~~ leagues from hence, and the Northern Sea should be much farther off. Your lordship may see how broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, bears, tigers, lions, porcupines, and certain sheep as big as an horse, with very great horns and little tails; I have seen their horns so big, that it is a wonder to behold their greatness. Here are also wild goats, the heads whereof I have seen. There is game of deer, ounces, and very great stags. They travel eight or ten days' journey hence to certain plains, lying towards the North Sea, where they kill the oxen, the skins of which they dress and paint."

N. T.
F.





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